

"Here, in England, no collection, even for charity (unless for the poor of the same parish) is, by law, to be made, but by leave and permission of the King; gathering of money being so nice a matter, that it must not be done even for charity, without his leave, in the most compassionate cases. But this method (the act of the defendant) were giving a go-by to all Royal Licences, and putting it in the power of the clergy to do all acts of charity themselves, at the expense of the people; and to be sole judges of the occasions, and to make what application and account they please."—Charge of Sir LITTLETON POWYS in the case of the King against Hendley.

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SLAVE TRADE.

[Having always regarded this as a subject of the utmost importance, and being fully persuaded, that on the country's coming to a *fixed opinion* with respect to it depends, in no small degree, the prosperity, and not only the prosperity, but the safety of the West-India Colonies, as dependencies of the British crown, I, of course, think it my duty to lend all the assistance in my power towards the removing of those prejudices, which have been, by the real humanity and by the benevolent dispositions of some persons, and by the low ambition and hypocrisy of others, excited against the continuance of the Slave Trade. From this motive it is, that I insert the following Address to the Good Sense of the People of the United Kingdom, in which the reader will find much useful matter, and by which he will, if he yet remain unconvinced by the arguments of the author, find pointed out ample means of further inquiry. I would beg leave to request his particular attention to the argument grounded upon the *principle of population*, as laid down, and, indeed, established, by MR. MALTHUS. Before the rays of this luminous principle, the mists of erroneous or hypocritical humanity instantly vanish, and leave the field clear for the operation of reason—I cannot refrain from adding here, an exhortation to the reader, to reflect on the consequences which have already proceeded from the mischievous policy of our ministers having, for the last twenty years, so decidedly preferred the East to the West-Indies: I cannot help exhorting him to reflect on the dangers which are now to be apprehended from our having so widely extended our conquests in India, having raised the trade with that country into such importance, and having thereby excited such universal jealousy of us, without at all adding to our strength, while we have, on the other hand, been, by all sorts of means, discouraging and depressing our colonies in the West-Indies, our ancient possessions, that were become so naturally and so firmly attached to the

mother-country as to be, by foreign nations as well as by ourselves, regarded as a part of England: I cannot help exhorting him to reflect on what may, at a time so critical, when all men of property must necessarily be anxious for the *security* of what they possess; at such a time, I cannot help exhorting both the people and the government, to reflect on what may be the consequences of proceedings calculated to make our West India colonists seriously apprehensive for the tranquillity and security of their possessions, under the present order of things. The wise decision of the House of Commons, during the last session, did, as far as the Slave Trade was concerned, greatly tend to remove apprehensions of this sort, and, I trust, that, if the subject should be revived, the parliament will so express itself as to allay them for ever.]

AN ADDRESS TO THE GOOD SENSE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The interesting and important subject, the **ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE**, has repeatedly been submitted to Parliament, and, during the ensuing session, will, probably, again be discussed in the House of Commons. The investigation of this subject does not demand a separate consideration of the humanity, justice, and policy of the measure; because, the abolition of laws which have had long experience and repeated sanction, upon the faith and foundation of which rests a considerable portion of the public stock of population, industry, and prosperity, can only be a proceeding just and humane, when it is, strictly speaking, reconcileable with that liberal, enlarged, and impartial policy, the principles of which inform the mind and direct the conduct of a truly wise and energetic statesman. Such a statesman must be by nature so endowed, by laborious study so instructed, by accident and fortune so circumstanced and placed, that we are not to wonder if the character occur but rarely, even among the most civilized people and in the most enlightened

times. Its perfect pattern is to the nation, and, indeed, to the age in which he lives, a benefactor of the highest order, and of the most extensive influence. Conversant with all that is to be gathered of authority and of use in history, he applies the lessons of times past to the advantage of the present and of the future, not with the servility of a copyist, but with an adaptation analogous to that by which the judicious translator infuses the spirit of a dead language into the genius and idiom of that in which he writes. He estimates not, and still less does he adopt, measures without attentively surveying all their relations and connections, and looking forwards to all their possible consequences. Provident of future danger, the occasion of which he knows must have its embryo and its infancy, he is watchful to arrest its progress, and, if possible, to extirpate its germ. *Leniter in modo, fortiter in re*, the object he pursues is constantly in view, the steps by which he attains it often imperceptible. His ends are grand and striking, his means simple and unobtrusive. Single projects he imparts, and skilfully distributes their execution; but the train is in his own mind, and his connecting thread can be traced only in the accomplishment of his purpose. In the public benefit centre all his aims, but he has studied human nature, and, since fallible men must be his instruments and his materials, his projects of reform are not extravagant or impracticable, and his progress is rather sure than rapid: with him the lesser object must always give way to the greater, and that which is distant and doubtful to that which is at hand and certain.—That such statesmen have existed, and do still exist, I am willing to believe; but an attentive perusal of the records of our own nation, during the last twenty or thirty years, will perhaps induce us to more than doubt, whether our leading men have been formed after this model, or our affairs directed after these principles. Posterity, when they read this portion of our history, will be ready to exclaim, "What patient endurance, what persevering spirit in the people: what generous contributions of the opulent, and magnanimous sacrifices of the poor; what vast sums raised and expended, and yet what resources perpetually displayed; what examples of valour, discipline, and ardour in fleets and armies: what instances of individual heroism in both! Then, too, what splendour of eloquence in the senate and at the bar; what talents and what parts elicited in the conflicts of parties and in the contentions for power; what ingenuity of defence and of attack,

"to protect, displace, or restore successive administrations!" But will not they who read of these most perilous times also exclaim, "What a lamentable deficiency of sagacity in discerning, wisdom in planning, vigour and decision in executing, great measures of state; in peace what improvidence, in war what imbecility of council; what fluctuating principles of state policy and of political economy; what devotion to private, what dereliction of public, views; what juggling for power, tricks for popularity, intrigues for place, crimes for wealth, and rancour in the recriminations of parties! Brave, high spirited, intelligent and opulent nation; it has been thy fate, in the most momentous period of thy history, although blest with an admirable constitution of government, to suffer a weak and inefficient at least, if not a flagitious administration of it, and to pay full dearly for thy confidence!"—Such, I fear, will be the impartial judgment of posterity upon the history, and particularly upon the state policy of the times in which we live; and I have introduced the topic that I may draw a conclusion, *inevitable if these premises are just*—that upon this great question, the ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, we derive no trust-worthy light from the authority and opinions either of ministers or their opponents. To abolish a slave trade, or to set free a slave, be it where or when it may, is a proposition, the bare mention of which recommends it to the free people of this kingdom; and no small pains have been taken to interest them in the question. In parliament, therefore, for the sake of carrying popularity, the abolition has been supported by the leaders on both sides with much ability, ingenious argument and brilliant rhetoric: but we know not that the question has ever undergone the calm, discriminating scrutiny of a state council, or if it have so done, what has been the result. Judging from the past, even this high authority, if obtained, might fail to create conviction in those who chuse to examine before they act; but, in the present instance, it is worth considering, what ends are to be answered by thus throwing upon the people the conduct of a question which is specially one of high state policy, demanding the union of every channel of information which can possibly centre in a wise, provident, and penetrating administration; a subject particularly unfitted for mere popular discussion, and unquestionably one upon which the people if they regard their own interests, will be wary in deliberation and slow in decision.

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Little as we know, in this instance, of the collective sentiments of our successive State Cabinets, yet, observing that the speeches of our prominent public men have, with few exceptions, been all in favour of abolition, at the same time that the question has been left to the fortune of desultory debate in parliament, and to the influence of the popular cry out of doors, we have some reason to conclude, either that gentlemen have one language for the House of Commons, and another for his Majesty's Council Chamber, or (what is more probable), that the subject has one appearance in calm, well informed, deliberate discussion, and another in warm and oratorical debate, and that, although the passions may be enthusiastically enlisted in one place, the reason cannot be substantially convinced in another. And yet there should be no such trimming conduct nor uncertainty of opinion among ministers: the matter is of high importance, and has been long before them. If Abolition, attentively considered in all its bearings, cannot be reconciled to true policy, it is neither just nor humane, and ministers should have the candour and resolution to say so; and had the Cabinet otherwise decided, a manly and vigorous administration would give to the cause they had embraced, a steady and collective support.—Are we, then, the people of this kingdom, called upon eventually to assume all the responsibility of this experiment, that if it should fail of producing the good effects we have fondly imagined, and on the contrary should entail upon the West India Colonies the fatal consequences against which we have been repeatedly warned, we may the more patiently sustain the burthens which inevitably await us? The first of these must be that indemnification which the justice of the British nation will not deny to the sufferers; to those who, contrary to their consent and in contempt of their frequent and earnest remonstrance, shall have experienced the reversal of a system of legislation, upon the faith of which they have built their all; a system recognised, sustained, and confirmed for a century and a half, and from which have sprung up, grown and flourished colonial establishments, often pronounced by the legislature to have been "highly advantageous to the trade, navigation, and prosperity of the mother country;" and which, by this "*wheel of the course of justice*" shall have been involved in destruction? But, though this be no light matter, (for the property embarked in the West India Colonies is little less than *one hundred millions*), yet it sinks in comparison with the consideration of the sacrifice to be made of that large pro-

portion which the colonial intercourse contributes to the revenue, trade, and navigation of the kingdom; a sacrifice which must, in the first instance, unquestionably look for its counterbalance out of the remaining resources of the public; although those should be found in the end all inadequate to the object, and the fabric of the national prosperity thus the sooner hasten to its decay. Are we in such a conjuncture to be told, that this measure was peculiarly conceded to the earnest and almost unanimous wishes of the people, whose humane purpose was manifest, and that we are therefore cheerfully to swallow the fruits of our own planting, how bitter soever they may be? If such is the responsibility we are to assume, let us look about us.—In what manner has this subject been introduced to us, and what is the information we possess concerning it? The question was first, I believe, started in France. A society called the "*Friends of the Blacks*" began to assemble there in the years that immediately preceded the revolution, when schemes for reform in every department of morals and legislation were constructed, and those wild notions avowed which not only occasioned, but marked with indelible disgrace and horror the revolutionary tumults and massacres of that country. The "*Friends of the Blacks*" were successful, as they doubtless would consider it; for the French slave trade was stopped, and the negroes in their colonies set free. Anarchy and devastation in all their colonies, and utter ruin to Saint Domingo, by far the richest and most flourishing among them or in the world, ensued. The Blacks and Mulattoes contended for superiority; the Blacks prevailed; the Mulattoes first, and next the Whites, were murdered; and, finally, the Blacks have, by their excesses and their internal quarrels, nearly exterminated themselves.—And here, too, let us not omit to remark, that the question has been made the business of Association; we are all of us aware of the unwearied diligence with which, at a considerable expense, publications have been disseminated, urging the people of this kingdom to petition for abolition, and even to forbear the use of colonial productions till it be obtained. How few of us are there who are competent judges of the truth and value of the facts and reasonings which we read in these publications! What do we, for the most part, know of Africa or the West Indies? We have no slaves here; but we have ranks and degrees, very distant from each other, and very differently accommodated; and we know that this is right. In various distant countries

there are other and inferior ranks and degrees, perhaps suited to the nature and circumstances of those countries and their inhabitants; and may not this be right too? If a man, kind and humane, were to be born and nursed in a palace, experiencing there all the gratifications of luxury, and entirely ignorant of what was passing in the world, and suddenly, with all his benevolent emotions about him, were to witness the toilsome occupations and scanty accommodations of our labouring poor, would he not conclude that they were oppressed and miserable, and be an advocate for lifting them out of their condition? Yet, in so doing, he would not benefit the community, nor eventually those very poor, however he might gratify his personal feelings. We are liable to the same imposition when we take a superficial view of slavery, of which we know so little, although it be a condition of life, inevitable, in the present state of things, of a very large portion of mankind. We see around us every day various evils springing up and gaining ground, of the effects of which we are well able to form a competent judgment, and which are fair objects of political remedy. The yearly increase of the vagrant Poor for instance, who have no attractive or stimulative tie with society, and who live a burthen to themselves and to the public, is an evil of this sort. Why are not our Associations bent with the same zeal for the remedy of these proximate and obvious disorders, as for those remote and more unquestionable? Why do not subscriptions for these purposes pour in from every quarter? Are we purposely diverted, by interesting and romantic pursuits, from those of a more homely nature upon which our every day experience might prove troublesome? Or, is it our main object to obtain the reputation and self-complacent conviction of benevolence, and professing ourselves to be champions in that cause, do we look for a speedier and more brilliant triumph in a Quixotic expedition, of which we may be left to tell the story, and to paint in imaginary colours the terrors and the difficulties, than in a conflict with an adversary who comes to our door and challenges us to fight in the open field and in day light, with a ring around us of our neighbours, who can see and fairly estimate the relative force and means of the combatants?—But, in the publications I have mentioned, no room is left to you for doubt or hesitation; every thing there asserted is professed to be proved beyond controversy. If the argument of an opponent be noticed “it is a miserable sophism,

“it adds insult and injury to crime*,” and you are told, not as declamation, but as the result of a critical discrimination, that “the Slave Trade is a traffic which condemns a whole quarter of the world to increasing and ferocious warfare; which annually exterminates more men than fall during the bloodiest campaign of European hostilities, and regularly transports every six months, in circumstances of unparalleled affliction, more innocent persons than suffer in a century from the oppression of all the tyrannies of the world.” I give you the words of an able and acute writer, to whose ingenious remarks upon this subject I am not afraid to refer you, and he acts consistently in announcing these and such like assertions with all the authority of admitted facts; for, I will venture to say, that they are not and cannot be proved, and yet, that less than their incontrovertible proof should not induce you to risk, by your interference, the destruction of the colonies.—But, the very persons who write thus, know that every one of these positions is, upon the most respectable and impartial authority, denied and controverted; and that it stands upon most credible testimony of fact and observation; that the slave trade is not the *cause* but the *effect* of the present uncivilised and barbarous state of a great part of Africa; that, considering the condition of that country, and the alternative that must happen if this trade were discontinued, so far from meriting the charge of exterminating lives, it tends rather to preserve them, and that, relatively to the state of society in Africa, to its governments and habits, the annual transport of a part of its inhabitants to the West Indies, and their labour and condition there, do not add to, but alleviate, the general mass of misery and affliction which the negroes endure.—As it is my aim rather to induce you to pause, to doubt, and to inquire, than, either in this short Address to present you with a summary of the argument on a subject so extensive, or to demand, as others have done, your implicit confidence in my assertions, I will refer you to Leo Africanus, Bruce, and Park, as the best authorities ancient and modern, respecting those parts of Africa which are most frequented for the purposes of the slave trade; and you will find that, from the times of Leo Africanus (about A. D. 1492) down to those of Park, the Africans are little if at all changed in manners, habits and civilization, and, that the war

* Edinburgh Review, No. 8.

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which the Slave Trade has been said exclusively to cause or to aggravate, occurred as frequently, with the same characters of ferocity, and upon provocations as frivolous, in the latter part of the fifteenth century.—Mr. MALTHUS, a writer, whose deep and careful investigation of the interesting subject of population, has excited general attention and approbation, gives us the following, among other observations, upon “*the checks to population in Africa.*” “The parts of Africa visited by Park, are described by him as neither well cultivated nor well peopled. He found many extensive and beautiful districts entirely destitute of inhabitants, and in general, the borders of the different kingdoms were either very thinly peopled or deserted. The swampy banks of the Gambia, the Senegal, and other rivers towards the coast, appeared to be unfavourable to population, from being unhealthy; but other parts were not of this description, and it was not possible, he says, to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil, the vast herds of cattle proper both for labour and food, and reflect on the means which presented themselves for vast inland navigation, without lamenting that a country so abundantly gifted by nature, should remain in its present savage and neglected state.—The causes of this neglected state, however, clearly appear in the description which Park gives of the general habits of the Negro nations. In a country divided into a thousand petty states, mostly independent and jealous of each other, it is natural to imagine, he says, that wars frequently originate from very frivolous provocations. The wars of Africa are of two kinds; one called Killi, that which is openly avowed, the other Tegria, plundering or stealing; these latter are very common, particularly about the beginning of the dry season, when the labours of harvest are over, and provisions are plentiful; these plundering excursions always produced speedy retaliation.—The insecurity of property arising from this constant exposure to plunder, must necessarily have a most baneful effect on industry. The deserted state of the frontier provinces, sufficiently proves to what a degree it operates; the nature of the climate is unfavourable to the exertions of the Negro nations, and as there are not many opportunities of turning to advantage the surplus produce of their labour, we cannot be surprised that they should in general content themselves with cultivating only as much ground as is necessary

“for their own support. These causes appear adequately to account for the uncultivated state of the country. The waste of life in these constant wars and predatory incursions, must be considerable; and Park agrees with Buffon in stating, that, independent of violent causes, longevity is rare among the negroes. At forty, he says, most of them become grey-haired and covered with wrinkles, and but few of them survive the age of fifty-five or sixty. Buffon attributes this shortness of life to the premature intercourse of the sexes, and to very early and excessive debauchery; without attributing too much to this cause, it seems agreeable to the analogy of nature to suppose, that as the natives of hot climates arrive much earlier at maturity than the inhabitants of colder countries, they should also perish earlier. — Polygamy is universally allowed among the Negro nations; and, consequently, without a greater superabundance of women than we have reason to suppose, many will be obliged to live unmarried. This hardship will probably fall principally on the slaves, who, according to Park, are three to one to the freemen. A master is not permitted to sell his domestic slaves, nor those born in his own house, except in case of famine, to support himself and family. We may imagine, therefore, that he will not suffer them to increase beyond the employment he has for them. The slaves which are purchased, or the prisoners taken in war, are entirely at the disposal of their masters; they are often treated with extreme severity, and in any scarcity of women arising from the polygamy of the free-men, would, of course, be deprived of them without scruple; few, or no women probably remain in a state of strict celibacy, but in proportion to the number married, the state of society does not seem to be favourable to increase.—Africa has been at all times the principal market of slaves; the drains of its population in this way have been great and constant, particularly since their introduction into the European colonies; but, perhaps, as Dr. Franklin observes, it would be difficult to find the gap that has been made by a hundred years exportation of negroes, which has blackened half America: very notwithstanding this constant emigration, the loss of numbers from incessant war, and the check to increase from vice and other causes, it appears that the population is continually passing beyond the means of subsistence. According to Park, scarce

“ years and famines are frequent. Among
 “ the four principal causes of slavery in
 “ Africa, he mentions famine next to war;
 “ and the express permission given to mas-
 “ ters of families to sell their domestic
 “ slaves for the support of their families,
 “ which they are not allowed to do on any
 “ less urgent occasion, seems to imply the
 “ not unfrequent recurrence of severe
 “ want. During a great scarcity which
 “ lasted for three years in the countries of
 “ the Gambia, great numbers of people be-
 “ came slaves. Park was assured by Dr.
 “ Lairdly, that at that time many freemen
 “ came and begged, with great earnestness,
 “ to be put upon his slave chain to save
 “ them from perishing with hunger. While
 “ Park was in Manding a scarcity of provi-
 “ sions was severely felt by the poor, as the
 “ following circumstance painfully con-
 “ vinced him. Every evening during his
 “ stay he observed several women come to
 “ the Mansa's house, and receive each of
 “ them a certain quantity of corn; ‘ Ob-
 “ serve that boy,’ said the Mansa to him,
 “ pointing to a fine child about 5 years of
 “ age, ‘ his mother has sold him to me for
 “ 40 days provision for herself and the rest
 “ of her family. I have bought another
 “ boy in the same manner.’ In Soosceta a
 “ small Jallonka village, Mr. Park was in-
 “ formed by the master, that he could fur-
 “ nish no provisions, as there had lately
 “ been a great scarcity in that part of the
 “ country. He assured him, that before
 “ they had gathered in their present crops,
 “ all the inhabitants of Kullo had been for
 “ 20 days without tasting corn, during
 “ which time they had supported themselves
 “ entirely on the yellow powder, which is
 “ found in the pods of the nitta, so called by
 “ the natives, a species of mimosa, and
 “ upon the seeds of the bamboo cane, which
 “ when properly pounded and dressed tasted
 “ very much like rice. It may be said,
 “ perhaps, that as, according to Park's ac-
 “ count, much good land remains unculti-
 “ vated in Africa, the dearths may be attri-
 “ buted to a want of people; but, if this
 “ were the case, we can hardly suppose that
 “ such numbers would yearly be sent out of
 “ the country. What the Negro nations
 “ really want is security of property, and
 “ its general concomitant, industry; and,
 “ without these an increase of people would
 “ only greatly aggravate their distresses. If,
 “ in order to fill up those parts that appear-
 “ ed to be deficient in inhabitants, we were
 “ to supply the country with a bounty given on chil-
 “ dren, it would probably be, the
 “ increase of the

“ exportation of slaves, and a great increase
 “ of misery, but little or no real increase of
 “ population.” — I have given this
 long extract, because the book of Mr.
 Malthus, although so instructive upon
 the present state of Africa, is written
 without the most distant reference to
 the subject of Abolition. It is an inge-
 nious illustration of the principle, which has
 been sanctioned by many eminent writers
 on Political Economy, that in every country
 the population is, on an average, proportion-
 ed to the means of subsistence. But, the
 statement of Mr. Malthus (connected as it is
 with the well known fact, that the wars
 which Park declares to be the primary cause
 of Slavery in Africa, are at this day neither
 more frequent, more atrocious, nor more
 lightly undertaken than they were in the
 same districts three or four hundred years
 ago), seems to me to lead to a conviction that
 the abandonment of the Slave Trade would,
 under such circumstances, no more benefit
 Africa than the drawing an impenetrable line
 of circumvallation around it, would benefit a
 garrisoned town, already overstocked with
 inhabitants.—The purchase of the Ne-
 groes on their own coast, their passage to the
 West Indies, and their labour and treatment
 there, are always to be considered relatively
 to these leading features of the State of So-
 ciety in Africa. Here, however, has been
 found much matter of pathetic appeal to the
 passions, and the occasion has not been
 thrown away by a want of ability and dili-
 gence in the use of it. But, that may be
 grievous to individuals, ignorant of the fate
 they are to encounter, which is, upon the
 whole, beneficial to the cause of humanity;
 and, until the Negro nations shall be sub-
 mitted to governments under which prop-
 erty is secure, and freedom invariably valuable,
 the evils they now endure are not the worst
 which it may be their lot to encounter.—
 As to the general treatment of slaves in the
 West Indies (for while men are men there
 must exist instances of abuse there), the ad-
 vocates for Abolition of the present day,
 seem not to build much on that part of the
 investigation; sensible perhaps, that the
 more correct and complete the information
 obtained in this instance may be, the more
 it must tend to lessen the effect of their for-
 mer high wrought pictures, and to convict
 them of much past erroneous or injurious
 aspersion. It is an inconsistency hardly
 worth noticing among the many which have
 been advanced on this subject, that, while
 the planters are told, “ The advocates for
 “ the Abolition of the Slave Trade most
 “ cordially reprobate all idea of emancipa-



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“ting the slaves that are already in our plantations,”* it should at the same time appear to be forgotten, that there must exist distinctions, both of opinion and of fact, betwixt freemen and slaves, in a society composed of both. Strangers who visit the West Indies are surprised to find the slaves possessing property, protected by laws, enjoying much leisure, and undisturbed in many of their enjoyments and pursuits: while those who treat of the subject here, although they profess that the conditions of slave and freeman must of necessity remain, would break down the barriers that separate the classes.—I must be allowed to doubt, however, whether the assertion I have quoted respecting Emancipation, be either generally admitted or understood. Can you read this distinction in most of the books, which, with so much industry, have been disseminated to afford you light upon this subject? Do you not feel the same propensity and call to set the slaves free, as to buy no more slaves? The French “*Friends of the Blacks*,” and many stout reformers of our days have had no such hesitation. But, perhaps, it may be prudent now, while the measure of Abolition is in contest, to keep out of your view this further consequence, lest the horrors of Saint Domingo, and the almost total extirpation of the free Negroes there, should stare you in the face, and induce you to pause upon the preliminary! Or, if those who make this declaration are sincere, how comes it that something has, upon attentive investigation, arisen to correct and to control the first dictates of the heart, and to prove that, what appeared to our unbiassed native feelings so just and humane, would not in the experiment, turn out so. Do not the advocates of abolition themselves here teach us a lesson of caution, and inculcate the great truth, that this is indeed, altogether a statesman’s question, concerning which superficial views and ill digested proceedings are calculated to do mischief rather than good?—Great pains have been taken to persuade the planters that this measure is even calculated to promote *their* interest and security. The eloquence of the present Chanc. of the Excheq. has been powerfully directed to this point, and, eloquent as he is, it cannot be surprising that he should have made some, very few, proselytes. But, the great body of the planters continue steady and unvarying in sentiment, and they not only affirm, but give cogent reasons for their persuasion, *that to abolish the Slave Trade is the sure way to depopulate the islands*

both of whites and of blacks, and to introduce Emancipation with all its train of horror, desolation, and ruin. By a very able writer they have been warned of a *Crisis** in which it is supposed they stand, and the prospect of an independent free Black Government, established near them, has been set out as pregnant to them with dangers. Yet they have seen that free and independent Black Government attempted, and they have seen it, too, crumbling, by its own weight, into destruction.—In a case of experiment and doubt, the value of the object at stake should be kept in view. The measure projected is to stop at once, and entirely change the system on which the West India Colonies have been settled, improved and brought to their present progress in cultivation. What are these Colonies, and what figure do they assume in the general Table of the National Prosperity? The investigation would carry us too far; but some notion may be gained from a few Custom House documents:

The average real annual value of
Exports to the British West India Colonies for 3 years ending
5th January, 1804, was . . . £3,020,914 11 2

The average real annual value of
Imports from the said Colonies
for the same period, (duties not
included) was £9,430,454 11 9

The average tonnage of Shipping
this Trade annually employed
say 634 ships, was . . . Tons 189,850

The number of Seamen annually
employed, was 10,600

The average nett annual Revenue
collected upon the imports after
deducting bounties, expenses,
&c, was £3,170,000 0 0

Of the goods *exported*, as stated above, the proportion of British manufactures, amounted to 4,748,866 1 19s. 11d. In which estimate are not included charges of freight, insurance, commission, and shipping, which these exports pay to British merchants, ship-owners, underwriters, wharfingers, &c. — Of the goods *imported* about 4-9ths were consumed at home; the rest, amounting in nett value to 5,307,271 1 5s. 9d. annually, (exclusive of the charges just mentioned) were paid for by foreigners, adding so much to our mass of national wealth, and

* Edinburgh Review, No. 8.

* Crisis of the Sugar Colonies.

to our favourable Balance of Trade.—It is to be observed, that the average exports to the West India Islands, of the three years ending the 5th of January, 1800, amounted to 6,014,890*l.*; and that the falling off (upwards of a million annually) in these latter years, is intirely to be imputed to the discouragements, which have hung over the colonies, the impending question of Abolition among the rest. To these discouragements it is owing that their cultivation has been checked, their credit impaired, and that a rigid and afflictive economy has, through necessity, been introduced into their supply. The British manufacturer, who must feel the consequence, ought to know the cause.—

Our inveterate and formidable enemy declares that he wants “ships, colonies, and commerce:” he discerns the intimate connection which these objects have with each other, and he feels the vast power which united they confer. It is against us that he is now plotting future mischief, and respecting his ability to harm us, and our means of resistance, it is much the same thing whether *he obtains* or we *cast off* these acknowledged sources of national strength and grandeur. Ought we to risque their diminution in the present conjuncture?—But, I have trespassed too long on your notice, and will conclude with repeating a caution which, on this subject, has already been held out to you, that you bring not on yourselves the fate of a certain Italian, who, blest with a good constitution, killed himself with experiments upon it, and ordered these words to be engraven on his Tomb-stone: *I was well, but would be better—and HERE I am.*

SENEX.

LORD NELSON'S REMAINS.

SIR:—As the conductor of a Political Register, it has not seldom fallen to your lot to become the guardian of those morals, which either folly from mistake, or knavery by design, were about to violate. I call upon you to stigmatise with all the energy of your style the conduct of those persons, who, by a shameless abuse of office, are now collecting immense sums, for the open exposure of the honoured dead. St. Paul's Cathedral, Sir, is at the present moment like the keeper's lodge, at the Tower, where you pay a shilling to see the noble animal in his den. The grave (I beg pardon, I mean the marble pavement) of Lord Nelson continues open, and the coffin is exposed at the distance of hardly more than four feet from the surface. Crowds are from morning until dusk pouring into the cathedral to gaze upon it, and are thus suffered to commit sacrilege

out of veneration, that an immense sum may fall into the pockets of certain people. There is something so depraved, so shameless and unfeeling in the business on one side, and so entirely misconceived on the other, that the evil cries aloud “from earth as it were to heaven,” for immediate censure. To point out topics of reproof to such a mind as yours is totally unnecessary; but one might have hoped that Englishmen would have had too much sense and feeling, too much reverence and gratitude, to consider the hallowed relics of Nelson as a means to satisfy impertinent curiosity and unbounded avarice. I am, &c. N. O.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

SWEDEN AND FRANCE.—*Declaration of the King of Sweden, dated Marswinsholm, near Ystad, Oct. 31, 1805.*

We, Gustavus Adolphus, by the Grace of God, King of Sweden, the Goths and Vandals, Heir of Denmark and Norway, Duke of Sleswig and Holstein, &c. &c. declare and make known, that when we entered upon the government of our kingdom, the unfortunate French revolution had prevailed for some years, while the most sanguinary and unheard-of scenes which had been there perpetrated, had spread discord, insurrection, and war, over the greatest part of Europe. During the nine succeeding years, the French revolution never ceased to threaten an interruption of the general tranquillity, and to excite the attention of every country. Trusting in the fidelity of the Swedish nation, and favoured by its distance from France, we witnessed, without alarm, the furious zeal of the factions, and their tyranny over a divided state, persuading ourselves, that the experience of these great calamities, produced by dissention and oligarchy, might at length be the means of restoring order, and an equitable government, for the security of the French people, and other states. This pleasing hope was not fulfilled; the government was indeed frequently changed; but the fundamental principles, so dangerous to all Europe, still remained unaltered. They were not only retained under the consular government, but in proportion as power came into the hands of the First Consul, his ideas of law and justice were diminished; every thing was now sacrificed to that ambition which usurped an authority over the rights of nations and treaties, and even over that respect which all governments wish to preserve for themselves. The blood of one of the worthy descendants of the ancient and honourable family of France was not long since shed by the hand of violence. This

shocking circumstance was not only a specimen of the ideas which the French government entertained of law and equity, but also a most disgusting picture of the system it had adopted; and, in every respect, affording a signal warning to all governments. While this encroachment furnished the great states with such a view, as enabled them to draw the most genuine conclusions respecting the irresistible power of France, the smaller states were converted into provinces by violence or intrigue; and the danger appeared not less general than overwhelming, as it seemed that security against these menaces was no longer to be found in any distance from the scenes of action.—The most justifiable claims, made by us upon the French government, were fruitless, in obtaining indemnities for the demands made by several of our subjects, respecting unlawful captures, arbitrary freighting, and an illegal embargo; as the lawless proceedings of the French government were carried to such a pitch, as to lay the Swedish commerce under considerable embarrassments in the French ports, during the space of nine months. Such proceedings could only increase the apprehensions entertained of this dangerous conduct, and excite, as it doubtless has in every loyal Swede, a wish for the organization of an adequate counterpoise against a power which had so rashly committed itself in its endeavours to obtain a superiority, and availed itself of every unjust means to obtain the end proposed.—But as no state was powerful enough to escape the effects of these practices, we hoped that the general experience of these outrages, would finally unite, and concur in their efforts to remove this common nuisance, and effectually to resist that power the object of which was, by degrees, to subjugate all others.—This period has at length arrived, and the greatest powers in Europe have taken the field, to support their own dignity and independence. We have united ourselves with them in every worthy and friendly connection, and for the purpose of sharing in all undertakings, have drawn closer the ties of amity; and we hope, with the assistance of Providence, to contribute to the restoration of the general tranquillity. With this view, we have now passed over, with a part of our army, to Pomerania, there to unite our power with the Russian forces; and, further, to act with energy in such a manner as circumstances may require.—In consequence of this laudable and weighty determination, we fully expect to be accompanied by the blessings and prayers of our faithful subjects, as it is our purpose to contend for the future

independence and the honour of the Swedish name. And since it has been our care, that, during our absence, the administration of public affairs should be preserved, and carried on without obstruction, in its usual course, we have graciously thought proper to establish a Regency, and to nominate and appoint, as members of the same, the Swedish Baron Wrangle, Bailiff of the Empire, President, &c. &c. Count Charles Axel, Major-General, &c.; Count Samuel Ugglas, Lieut.-General and Inspector of the Cavalry, &c.; Baron Brock Cederstrom, President of our Chancery, and Commandant of the Order of the Northern Star; Baron Frederick William Ehrenheim, our Chancellor of the Court; and our Adjutant-Generals of the fleets and armies.—Our gracious will and pleasure, therefore, is, that all our loving subjects and faithful servants, of high and low degree, shall yield the same obedience and obsequiousness to the Regency appointed in our Royal Name, as to ourselves. To this end, all whom it may concern are commanded to conform themselves; and for the better security of the same, we have, with our own hand, signed this present, and verified it with our Royal Seal. (L. S.) GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. M. ROSENBLAD.

WIRTEMBERG AND FRANCE.—*Speech of his Serene Highness the Elector of Wurtemberg, to the Deputies of the States, at Stuttgart, October 5, 1805.*

During the eight years of my government, I think I have given so many proofs of my paternal attention to the welfare of my subjects, to which my conscience bears witness, that I am convinced I may justly claim the confidence of my states, and of my subjects. Some time ago I communicated to the deputies, through my privy council, which is the connecting link between me and my country, and has equal duties to perform towards both, the perilous situation in which my native land, and my Electoral House, were placed, as well as the urgent necessity of devising means to avert the impending danger.—The answers which I received on this subject were replete with mistrust. My privy council, by my command, repeated the same sentiments; but with as little effect. Of the many disrespectful expressions, interspersed in these answers, I took no notice whatever. I returned; still I could obtain no decisive declaration, and my good intentions were misconstrued. Nevertheless, I did not suffer myself to be diverted from my exertions for the benefit of my country.—I sought to obtain an armed, or a simple, neutrality for my dominions;

but neither the Emperor of the French, nor the Emperor of Russia, would comply with that desire. Both were equally solicitous to attach me to their cause, and even a powerful German court, in which I was justified in placing the greatest hope, came to no determination. All my endeavours were ineffectual. Circumstances turned out as I had foreseen.—The French armies inundated my dominions; and my very residencies were not spared; the one was partly taken by storm, and the other was threatened with it. I remained firm; I despised the danger which menaced my person, my dignity, and those who are united to me by the most sacred ties of blood, my wife, my children, in a word, all that is dear to my heart. I had pledged myself not to abandon my subjects; I remained. The French Emperor came in person to me; I intreated him to grant me a neutrality. "He that is not with me, is against me," was his answer.—At that moment the fate of Wurtemberg was in my hands. Had I made opposition, my dominions would have been involved in ruin. My Electoral House was exposed to the danger of incurring the melancholy fate of so many other sovereign families, who are reduced to the necessity of living upon the charity of other courts, and who receive, by way of alms, the sum assigned for their maintenance. My country would have been treated by the victorious French army as a conquered province; it would have been compelled to furnish a contribution of eight millions, 2000 horses, and as many men as were required for conveying the artillery, and for other purposes.—The terms offered to me were, that Wurtemberg should join to the French army a force of 10,000 men, including 1,000 cavalry. I answered, that this exceeded the limits of my ability; that the resources for the maintenance of my troops were insufficient, without discharging a considerable portion of them in the course of the year. "If you cannot maintain them, your country can," said Napoleon. "My states will not consent," replied I. "Against them, I will support you," rejoined the French Emperor.—I had no choice left; I subscribed. The articles of the treaty which I have concluded, I will now read to you.

[Here follow the articles of the treaty, which have already been given.]

This treaty I have signed: I will, I must keep it. But, I cannot fulfil it, unless you provide me with the means. I request your consent to the raising of 2000 men, and desire you to furnish me with a sum of ready money. For the present occasion, at least,

half a million will be required. Had I pleased, I should not have had occasion for this formality; the Emperor, who signed this treaty, would have advanced me a still greater sum had I wished it; but I would not accept his offer.—The French Emperor set off this afternoon, and confidently trusts, that every thing will be most punctually performed. Should we fail in the least to comply, disagreeable consequences for the country will inevitably ensue.—You are the representatives of the country: in your hands is now placed the fate of your native land; on your resolve depends its salvation or its misery. Weigh the subject maturely, I intreat you, as a father. Mistake me not; it is not my demand, it is the demand of the French Emperor. Mistake me not; a third time I repeat, mistake me not. I implore you duly to consider, and calmly to reflect what a heavy account you will have to render to God, to your own consciences, and to posterity, if in this perilous situation of your country, you leave it on the very brink of the precipice, and suffer it to be parcelled out and divided. I will do my duty.—No, I swear I will not permit my house, my family, to be plunged into wretchedness. I submit this matter to your tranquil consideration; but, there is no time to be lost, and I have therefore directed an apartment to be prepared for you in my palace, where you may hold your deliberations unmolested. I will remain with my privy council assembled, and when you have finished your consultation, inform me, that I may again grant you access to me. All of you will then appear before me; none shall remain behind, none shall be acquitted of that responsibility you would incur, by a refusal, which, however, I hope not to receive.

Declaration of the Deputation of the States to his Serene Highness the Elector of Wurtemberg, Oct. 5, 1805.

The communication so graciously made to the deputation of the states, by your Electoral Highness in person, concerning the perilous and unfortunate state of the country, could not fail to place before their eyes, that highest of duties which outweighs every other consideration, however important, to preserve the menaced integrity and constitution of the country, and to excite them to prove their ever-devoted and unshaken attachment to your Electoral House in this extraordinary crisis.—While the deputation submit to the unavoidable pressure of circumstances, and to the rigid laws of necessity, and coincide, in general, in the sentiments of the supreme power, filled with per-

fect confidence in the truth and paternal aid and solicitude of your Electoral Highness, and with the most ardent hope, that, exhausted as the country is, the necessary sums of money may be borrowed on the general credit, they are, at the same time, obliged by their duty, to give a respectful caution against all participation in any designs contrary to the principles of the constitution, which may have been introduced into the convention recently concluded.

(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LLOYD'S FUND.—The money now in the hands of the self-erected corporation at Lloyd's amounts to nearly a *quarler of a million*. This is, according to the evident intention of the Committee of underwriters and fund-dealers, to go on accumulating for the purpose of enabling them to grant marks of honour, sums of money, and pensions, *out of the interest*; and there needs no more sense than that possessed by the Wards and the Cannings and the Huskissons to perceive, that, thus, a permanent body, a rival of the crown, will, if not very soon put an end to, be established beyond the power even of parliament to resist. Many persons, and, amongst others, the valuable, though unknown correspondent, who has favoured me with the hints that led to the selection of the motto to this sheet, have congratulated me upon the effect produced by my endeavours to expose the unconstitutional principle, the insolent and tyrannical proceedings, and the nefarious tendency of this project (one of the last, I hope) of the paper-money makers; and, as far as I am able to judge from appearances, the thinking part of the people begin to be seriously alarmed at the contemplation of what may be the final consequences of a Fund for pensioning and otherwise rewarding the army and the navy, independent of the crown and the parliament.—To the instances before given of the means made use of to constrain, to bully, people, into a contribution towards the patriotic and *voluntary* undertaking at Lloyd's, I will now add one more. The **REV. NICHOLAS BULL**, Vicar of Saffron Walden, Essex, and of Ickleton, Cambridgeshire, in a sermon preached by him, on the thanksgiving day, in the parish church of the former place, and since published, "for the benefit of the Patriotic Fund," asserts, by way of conclusion to a long list of texts about war and the movements of the sea, picked out of the Concordance; by way of conclusion to 23 pamphlet pages of common-place dulness, this

Rev. gentleman makes the following assertion, that "they who can resist such an appeal" [the appeal he had just made in behalf of the Fund-holder's establishment], "can have little title to the character of Christians, and are utterly unworthy of the name and privileges of Englishmen." If any one had risen up and asked the Rev. gentleman how he could reconcile it to his oath to be vicar of two parishes, and those so situated as to render it *impossible* for him to perform his duty at both; if any one of his insulted parishioners had asked him this question, I wonder what he would have said. If he has not quite forgotten the canons of the Church, *he* will know very well what I mean, and that may suffice for the present; but, not for the future; for, since so many of the clergy have now, through ignorance or something worse, so clearly shewn themselves to be of a party with the fund-dealers, it is time for the people to examine into *their* conduct: since they have chosen to become the echo of the placard of Lloyd's; since they have called upon us to perform *our duty*, as they have dared to call it, in subscribing to the Lloyd's fund, it is time for us to enquire whether they perform *their duty*, and whether it be not *to them* that we have to look for the causes that have, within these few years, driven a million and a half of the king's subjects into methodist meetings.—In his parish, his vicarage, observe, of Ickleton, this anathematizing gentleman (whose clerical capacities shall certainly be the subject of remark upon some future occasion) keeps a *curate*. This curate consulted one of the churchwardens, a principal farmer in the parish, as to the propriety of making a collection at the church on the day of thanksgiving. The churchwarden told him, that he was decidedly adverse to the measure; that he should not subscribe any thing himself; and, of course, should not apply to others for that purpose. The objections which he stated, were, that a large sum, already subscribed, still remained in the hands of the Committee; and, that the Committee consisted, for the most part, of men, to whom he was not inclined to give much credit, either for patriotism or benevolence. No collection, therefore, took place; but, in order to remind his parishioners of Ickleton of their duty, the vicar sent his sermon amongst them, by the hands of his curate; from which sermon they were to learn, that they, or their churchwarden at least, "had little title to the name of Christians, and were utterly unworthy of the privileges of Englishmen." *What privileges*

he did not particularly mention; if he had, he surely would not have forgotten the invaluable one of being abused, and almost cursed, for not giving their money to a *voluntary* contribution.—We must not, however, leave this Lloyd's Fund to work its way, though we were to be loaded with curses more bitter than that of Erzulpus. It may be, and it is, too much to hope from the people by whom the scheme was projected and carried into execution, such fruits of amendment as those pointed out by my correspondent, in the Register of the 28th of December last; but, if these men shall not, and that very soon too, place the disposal and management of their fund, as well as of any future augmentation of it, under the only constitutional superintendence, I hope, and confidently rely, that their proceedings will be checked by parliamentary interference. In better times; in times when men yet adhered to the principles of the constitution; in times before the Pitt system had confused and confounded men's notions of constitutional rights and duties, it would not have been necessary to call to the recollection of the reader any instances of the very great jealousy which has always been entertained of voluntary contributions for national purposes (even though to be disposed of by the Crown) without consent of parliament; and, as to members of parliament themselves, it is, surely, even now unnecessary to refer them to the learning, on this subject, contained in the precedents of Mr. Hatsell; Vol. III. pages 71 and 72. But, as the Fund-Dealers have thought proper to press into their service the clergy and the churches; and, as the clergy have (with more alacrity, I hope, than thought, in most instances) lent themselves, their churches and their sacred functions to further the purposes of those Fund-Dealers, it may not be amiss, in addition to what has already been said upon the subject, to admonish them, that, unless the law be changed since 1719, this perversion of their churches and their characters is an offence at common law, punishable by fine, imprisonment, and the pillory; and, so firm was my conviction of this from the out-set, that, if a collection had been made at the church of the parish where I live, I was resolved upon putting the law, upon this subject, to the test, and upon deciding the great question now at issue, whether the Funds had actually superseded the law of the land, or not? For an offence, analogous to those we have been speaking of, a clergyman of the name of HENDLEY was, with others, prosecuted in the reign of George I. and, in

conviction, was fined. The trial is briefly reported in the Appendix to the 10th vol. of the State Trials, p. 85. And, at the end of this report is printed a letter to the Lord Chancellor from Judge POWYS, who tried the defendant, giving an account of the proceedings, and, in particular, of his directions in point of law. "This case," says he, "is of a vast extent and mighty consequence to the king and to the people; and at which the very legislature may take great umbrage. The levying of money is the tenderest part of our constitution. And, if it may be done arbitrarily, under a *show and form of charity*, it cannot be said whither it may go. Collections, as for charities, *may be set up in all the churches of England by the clergy*, as often as they please. And, though it be said, it is all but *voluntary* giving; yet, it is a sort of compulsion, by the solemnity in the church, and *going with others*, and being *marked out*, if refusing or giving meanly."—How true! How just! How wise the law; and how grossly has it now been violated! These researches have not been made for the purpose of defence against the aspersions and calumnies of such men as the Goldsmids and the Angersteins, and the rest of that committee, who caused placards to be stuck up about the metropolis, accusing, by implication, all those of a want of patriotism, who did not subscribe to the fund; nor against the more bitter calumnies of such men as Mr. Nicholas Bull and Dr. Ireland of Croydon: they have been made for a much more important purpose; that of preparing the public mind for the discussions, relative to the subject, which, at a very early stage of the session, will, surely, take place in parliament. From the churches alone, it now appears, that more than 60,000*l.* have been collected by a self-created body of men, who hold a regular board at a coffee-house in London, and whose professed object is, to grant, out of this money, rewards, some of them by way of *pension*, to the army and the navy. This body of men is, too, composed of underwriters, fund-dealers, contractors of various sorts, and, in short, of that description of persons, whom it would be the most dangerous to suffer to gain an ascendancy in our troops, either by land or by sea. They have opened an official correspondence with our commanders, to whom they have communicated their decrees, in order to their being officially made known to the men under their several commands. Many of these commanders have made reports to them as have also the Secretary to the Admiralty,

and the Directors of the Royal Hospitals for Invalids. They have sent out their decrees to the governors of our islands and provinces, who have, several of them, raised money upon the people under their government, and have remitted it to Lloyd's, making their reports to the Committee, without any permission from king or parliament. Private soldiers and sailors have made application to the Committee, and grants have been made by it, in consequence of such application. And, shall the parliament; if the ministry do: if the king's servants wink at this daring, this audacious contempt of the law; this most dangerous invasion of the royal authority and office; if the "king's friends;" if the ever-famous "king's friends" wink at this, for fear of offending the loan-makers, shall the *parliament* wink at it too? If there be no one to speak for the king's prerogative, shall there be no one to speak for the privileges of the people, thus set at nought by the means, so well described by Judge Powys? Will the House of Commons stand quietly, and look on, while a quarter of a million of money is thus levied upon their constituents without their consent, and a considerable portion of it through the means of collections in the parish churches? If they do, we may continue to *talk* about the great powers and the watchfulness of the House of Commons; but, there will remain but very few persons, upon whom such talk will make much impression. It is said, indeed, that the ministers themselves mean to *do something*; but, what that something will be, that it will go no further than a miserable compromise, have we not reason to fear? That they (or, at least, the more rational part of them) have not countenanced the impudent proceedings at Lloyd's, is certain; and, except in one instance, that of a letter, in the *Courier*, in defence of Dr. Ireland and Colonel Robinson, which letter, from its indescribable dullness, one would attribute to Dr. Ireland himself, the ministerial papers, though devoted to the fund-dealers, have, of late, said very little in defence of the corporation at Lloyd's. But, this is a grievance, the redress of which ought not, for one hour, to be left to the ministers. It is one which calls aloud for the interference of parliament; and particularly of the House of Commons. Here are the means of rewarding and the maintaining of an army and a navy raised without even the semblance of their assent; and that, too, through the instrumentality of the magistrates and the clergy, acting upon letters missive, openly and expressly acting up-

on letters missive from a self-created corporation at Lloyd's, transmitted to them under the frank of the Secretary of the General Post-Office. Would it not be a libel upon the House of Commons to suppose, that they would wink at such an outrageous violation of their privileges? *Somebody* must begin. The thing must be put a stop to; for, proceed it cannot, without withdrawing the army and the navy from the king; and, if this terrible mischief were less to be apprehended than it is, what a precedent, if nothing be done as to those ministers of the church who have made collections, will be established? Money may be, by them, raised upon the people for *any* purpose. Why not for a disabled minister, as well as for a disabled seaman or soldier? Why not? And, when the people come to consider, that the army and the fleet can be rewarded by *voluntary* contribution, would it be very extraordinary, if they should think *that* to be the best way, and should regard it as unreasonable to be *taxed* for that purpose, especially as a considerable saving must arise from the money being distributed by men, who so generously perform the office of distributors *without taking any salary* for so doing? So numerous are the evils, attendant upon this audacious innovation, that there is no getting rid of them. They meet us like thorns in a hedge, and stick about us like burrs. Yet, amongst them all, that which I first of all perceived and pointed out to the public, is by far the greatest; namely, that of creating, in the army and the navy, a feeling that shall prefer the duration of the *Funds* to the duration of the *Monarchy*. My opinion respecting the approaching necessity of making a very great deduction, at least, from the interest now paid upon the national debt; this opinion, though firmly rooted in my mind, *may possibly* be erroneous; but, if it should not; if, as many, very many, persons begin to think, my opinion be well-founded; if it should become a question, whether such a deduction be not absolutely necessary to the preservation of the throne and of our liberties; if this should, at no very distant day, become a question in parliament, what will then be our situation, the soldiers and sailors being duly apprised of the circumstance, that the source of their rewards and that the payment of the numerous pensions already granted them, depend entirely upon the undiminished existence of the *Funds*; upon the continuation of the prosperity and the predominance of the *Fund-Dealers*? With this question I take leave of the subject, for the present, beseeching the reader, particularly if he be a

member of parliament, to honour it with his serious consideration.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—Upon this subject little remains to be said, at present, but to express, what the reader will not fail to remember I expressed long ago, a regret, that any of the few regular soldiers we had should, under such inauspicious circumstances, have been sent to the continent. But, it should not be forgotten, that the sending of our troops to the North of Europe, instead of sending them to Italy, where, if any where, they might have been of some service to the common cause, was, by the ministerial writers, upon the assertion, a hundred times made, that Prussia was with us in the war. It will be recollected, how often this assertion was repeated by them, and in how many ways they propped up the falsehood; how many times they said and swore, that Prussia was *decidedly hostile* to France; and, indeed, that her armies had actually marched to the attack; now, however, it would seem, that Prussia has *deceived* us; and, this is stated pretty broadly upon the anticipation of the capture of our troops in Hanover, whither they were sent for purposes that Mr. Pitt and the Colonels of the Horse Guards can best tell. "Supposing," says the *Courier* of the 14th instant, "that the French do make an attack upon our troops in Hanover, why are ministers to blame?" Why, for sending them there, and keeping them there, doing nothing at all, till Napoleon had dispatched the allied armies, and had troops to spare to send against them. But, to proceed with the extract: "Our troops were sent to co-operate with the Russians, Swedes, and Prussians; there was no doubt then of the co-operation of Prussia. But if, in consequence of recent events, which no man living could foresee, and which even the Opposition with all their eagerness to predict defeat and disaster to every effort against France, did not venture to presage, Prussia deemed it prudent to abandon her intention of acting against Buonaparte, why are ministers deserving of censure? The troops were sent where, in the event of the continuance of the war, it was deemed they would be most useful. If it be asked why they were not sent in preference to join the Austrians and Russians in Bavaria or Moravia, the answer is, that the combined force of those two Powers was deemed equal to contend with any force France could bring against it; but upon this part of the subject, we have expressed our opinion at length in our review of the conduct of the war.

The disasters in Moravia, by producing a change in the sentiments and system of Prussia have, it is true, left our troops exposed to an attack from an army superior in numbers. But that is an event, for which, however we may deplore it, no man can justly blame his Majesty's Ministers—they could not possibly have foreseen it.—*Was deemed!* But, supposing the motive to have been good, which I do for argument's sake, what has that to do with the blame? The blame then is only transferred from the heart to the head. And, as to *presages*, what assurance must this man have to assert, at this day, that the Opposition writers never foretold that Austria would be defeated, and that Prussia would not join us in the war! The readers of the Register must have been wearied with my endeavours to warn them against the belief of Prussia's taking part in the war. Not only might the ministers have foreseen what has happened; but it was foreseen to their hands; and, instead of profiting from the advice, they obstinately persevered in their schemes, while their underlings invented and published falsehoods to keep them in countenance.—The main point now to be noticed is, however, the saying and unsaying of these writers with respect to Prussia; and I beg the reader to compare what I have just extracted with what I am about to extract from the same publication of the 6th instant. "There is another very material point too to be considered with respect to Prussia; she has never deceived us; she has never promised support and then withheld it; she has never held out hopes and expectations which she has afterwards refused to fulfil: she has always acted in an open, candid, and manly manner towards us: she has never deceived us. We trust therefore, we shall hear no more irritating and goading language applied to her; our policy should be to conciliate her by all possible means; to be upon the most friendly and cordial footing with her, and to do every thing in our power to create and cement the most intimate alliance between her, Russia, and this country."—Well, then, what fools, or, rather, what barefaced liars (for nothing else can they be called) must those writers and their employers have been! Never even held out hopes! Good God! And yet, they have the effrontery to defend the sending of our troops to Hanover upon the ground of hopes and expectations of the hearty co-operation of Prussia! But, of the language and conduct of such men it is waste of time any more to talk. It is for the members of parliament;

for those to whom the people now look for wisdom, firmness, and decision; it is for them now to inquire, and to obtain a specific answer, whether Prussia has or has not deceived us; whether she did, or did not hold out hopes and expectations. To them, as to our last remaining hope, we now look for satisfaction as to the cause of all our calamities and our dangers, and that satisfaction we have a right to expect. We have long enough been the sport of the Wards and the Cannings; we have been, or, at least, the great mass of the people have, long enough been, deluded by them and their newspapers; and we have now a right to know the truth and the whole truth.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.—By way of introduction to the little that I shall think it necessary to say upon this subject, I cannot refrain from noticing an article in one of the ministerial papers relative to the illness, or reputed illness, of Mr. Pitt, the great cause of all our calamities. "It would have been strange indeed if *his Majesty's weakness of sight*, and Mr. Pitt's illness, had not afforded the *Opposition* cause for triumph and exultation. The intelligence from the Continent is with them a subject of less importance than the intelligence from Putney. Piccadilly swarms with anxious Opposition enquirers, anxious, not for Mr. Pitt's recovery, but for his getting worse. "He can't attend Parliament, and we shall have it all our own way," is the gratulatory greeting of the different members and partisans of the Opposition as they meet each other. Mr. Pitt's health is certainly not worse than when he left Bath; but it has been declared by his physicians that it is indispensibly necessary for him not yet to expose himself to the severe fatigues of business; to remain quiet, and reside in a clear and healthy air. No apprehensions, we are glad to state, are entertained for his life; his complaint is a debilitated stomach, produced by excessive application to business, or, we have no objection to borrow the description given by the Opposition of his indisposition, "the mania of doing every thing himself,"—that is, of superintending himself every branch and department of administration. The perils of our situation are said also to be aggravated by his Majesty's weakness of sight. "At this moment also his Majesty's sight is so imperfect, that Parliament must be opened by Commission."—Now, I appeal to the reader, whether he ever before heard of any thing so base as this! To accuse the Opposition, many of them well-known to be

in the personal confidence of the heir apparent; many of them having been in the King's cabinet; and many others of them now of his privy council; to accuse all these, in a lump, of *triumphing* and *exulting* that the King is unable, from want of sight, to read his speech to the parliament is something so base and so insolent as to authorise us to pronounce it impossible to have proceeded from any other minds than those, wherein were invented the two atrociously false Bulletins.—As to the *illness* of Mr. Pitt, that is another thing. Every man has a right to *wish* and to *express his wishes* upon that subject; and, it would be by no means extraordinary or blameable if those wishes were contrary to the wishes of the Editor of the *Courier*, and persons of that description. But, in asserting this, I am laying no ground for an apology either for myself or for any opposition writer that I have ever read; for, in no one instance have I ever alluded to his illness, and in no other opposition print have I ever seen any thing, that could possibly be tortured into a *triumph* upon the occasion. I will go much further, as to myself, and declare with the utmost sincerity, that, if he be *really ill*, so ill as to prevent him from attending parliament, I am sorry for it; and, that, not for his own sake, but for the sake of the country, I should be extremely grieved, if he were now to die; being fully persuaded, that, in that case, there would not be wanting, thousands of deceivers, and, perhaps, millions of deceived, to maintain, that, if he had lived, he would have extricated us from the difficulties, into which his selfish ambition and want of statesman-like talents have plunged us. *Triumph*, truly! Why should I, for instance, triumph in the only event that could give his fatal system a chance of being prolonged? In the only event whereby he could be enabled to preserve a remnant of his detestable reputation? In the only event, that could tend to the prevention of the clean sweeping-away of that innumerable swarm of underlings, with whom he has crowded, even to mutual annoyance, every department of the state? In the only event that could have the effect of sealing men's lips, and of depriving the nation of the inestimable benefits to be derived from a full exposure of all the proceedings, domestic as well as foreign, by which we have been reduced to our present situation? I have not spoken upon this subject before; but, being put upon it, I cannot refrain from saying, that it will be a shameful dereliction of duty in any man to abstain from speaking of Mr. Pitt and his measures, in the manner in

which they ought to be spoken of, merely because he is ill. We, the people of England, were not made for him, nor for his family, nor for his friends. Our liberties and our country are at stake. They have been brought into jeopardy; into imminent peril, by this minister; we have a right to expect, that no considerations whatever will prevent his conduct from being fully and freely discussed; and, the man who is induced to flinch from this will thereby afford us a tolerable good reason for suspecting, that his attachment to Mr. Pitt is much too great to leave him a sufficiency for the service of the country.—As to a *change of ministry*, too, my thoughts are nearly of the same description. The change, to answer any good purpose, must be *radical*; it must include all; yea, underlings and all; there must be a clean sweeping out of all the dirt of twenty year's collecting; it must be such a change as will lead to, and very soon produce, a complete *change of system*, or I shall have no hope in it. The influence, the predominance, the over-bearing insolence, of jobbers and contractors and nabobs must be put an end to; or nothing worthy of a wish will be accomplished. If the system is to continue, Mr. Huskisson could carry on the affairs of the nation, as well, if not better, than Mr. Pitt; and, it will, I imagine, be soon seen, that, unless the *means* are cut off, the former will be as well backed as the latter ever was; it will be soon seen, that *words* are not the means by which his supporters were convinced.—As to a *botched ministry*; as to any thing that, under the name of conciliation, would embrace the Hawkesburies and the Cannings and the Old Roses and many others of that stamp, not only would it fail of any good national end, but it would soon destroy itself, and, individually, the political influence of every man who should be weak enough to be inveigled into it. One of the things which we most want, is a serious and solemn *retrospect*; a strict examination, without favour, into past conduct. In any ministry, the composition of which would prevent this, or that would check it, though but in the smallest degree, the people would now have no confidence. The nation, in the midst of this terrible contest, and breaking down under its burdens, was, only in the last year, loaded with a fresh mortgage of about 800,000*l.* for grants of money and pensions. Is this to go on? Is this to pass so? If it be, George Rose is just the same to us as any one of the Opposition,

or all of them put together.—Let us hope, therefore, that there will be *no compromises*; no concessions in order to obtain votes and secure majorities; let us hope, that those who are against the Pitt system of government will openly and explicitly declare their principles, and adhere steadily to them, though they should be left in a minority as to numbers however small. If they do this, as I am confident they will, they will increase like the grain of mustard-seed; but, if they were to adopt the contrary course, they would continue to dwindle in character and in influence, till the poisonous weeds would once more overrun them, usurp the soil, and render it habitable for nothing but vermin. It is the *system*, the vermin-breeding system, that I, for my part, am at war with. The people are weary of it. They want something to re-animate them; something that shall form such a striking contrast with the past as to excite attention in the most unobserving. They want to be roused, not with rabble-rousing words; not with threats and terrors; as far as these can go they are roused enough; but, with *hope*, hope built upon a solid foundation; upon the evidence of truths, truths not only heard but *felt*. The questions of *peace* and *war* are now questions *entirely new*, to be discussed with reference to a set of circumstances entirely new. But, it is *at home*; it is here, where, to use an expression once before quoted by me upon a similar subject, “we must live, or bear no life; where our current runs, or else dries up for ever;” here it is that something must be done; that some effectual change must take place, or we sink under the arms of our enemy; and, to suppose that any such change can take place under a ministry made up of compromises and concessions; to act upon such a supposition would argue a degree of infatuation such as never before possessed the mind of man. Much better would it be for the Pitts, or their underlings, to hang on; because of their career events would soon bring us to the end, when we should always have a grand reserve of talent and character to look to; but, if once they were to worm themselves in amongst those, who now compose this reserve, the country would have nothing to rest upon; no ground of hope, no reliance upon any public man whatever; indifference and disgust would ensue, and of these, in times like those that are fast approaching, who does not perceive the natural, not to say the inevitable, consequences?